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562 578 593 neglects her and is surly with her, and even in his best temper seems to take pleasure in teasing her by snatching her pipe out of her mouth or hiding her tobacco. She is looked after by one of his other wives, and would, if she left him, have no one to take care of her material needs.

The fault for an unhappy marriage is not always with the man. The two following instances give the other side of the picture. I transcribe them from my file of 'personal histories'.

562 578 593 159 Dau is a gentle, unassuming man, very fond of his wife Ira, the daughter of Pinari. He is working as an indentured labourer, but on a plantation near enough for him to come to the village fairly often. But although he spends all his earnings on Ira, bringing her loin-cloths and beads, &c., she treats him abominably, refuses to look after him when he comes, will not cook for him, and is always nagging him. Sometimes she cooks food for him and leaves it for [578] another woman to give to him, which is a deliberate insult. She is a bad-tempered woman, and is always having quarrels with the other people, especially with her father, who once gave her a whipping because of the way she treated her husband. She is disliked in the village, and the other women told me that her husband could easily divorce her because she would not cook for him, but that he cared too much for her. She does not want to be divorced because he brings her presents. They have been married only a few months. This is definitely an unhappy marriage with the woman to blame, so far as I can ascertain.

Rus, now aged somewhere in her twenties, was married to Keketsian of Ieta, while both were children, but he died before she had any children by him. She was subsequently married to Watawi, by whom she has a son Wanias, now aged about 3–4, who [855 565] will some day be heir to the *tsunaun*, and is completely spoilt by her and the whole village. She is a cross, sulky woman, and never got on well with Watawi, who is said to have tried his hardest to make her happy. Watawi became very ill, but she refused to nurse him or to provide him with food. Finally Mrs. Hadden, for whom Watawi had worked, took pity on him and kept him at her plantation, where she looked after him till he died. All the time he was there, Rus would never come near him, though he continually asked for her, neither would she let him see his baby, of whom he was passionately fond. When she was sent for, she returned angry messages that she couldn't be bothered with him. He had been

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837 The more usual procedure, nowadays, however, is that the
586 husband divorces the woman, who then marries her lover. Several
848 such cases were personally known to me. The following is typical:
Tahol was married to Tsigot, a man much older than herself, and while he was absent from the village Wasē became her lover. She became pregnant; her husband was very angry when he discovered it, but did not divorce her. The child died. Tsigot went to Rabaul to work as an indentured labourer, Wasē and Tahol became lovers again and had another child. This time Tsigot divorced Tahol, and Wasē married her as his third wife. As far as I can judge they are living very happily together. His first wife has died, and his second is still an immature child, though she lives in his hut. He
● [855] seems to be really fond of Tahol, and both adore the baby, now nearly two years old, who gets even more petting than Melanesian children usually do.

837 No stigma of any sort attaches to the child of such a union,
848 whether the parents marry or not, and none to the woman if her lover marries her. In most of the instances that came under my observation, marriage had taken place after the woman's divorce. These marriages seem to be among the happiest that I met with, which is, perhaps, only to be expected, since they are almost the only ones in this society which can fairly be said to be the result of individual preference on both sides. But many, perhaps the majority, of the clandestine affairs are not taken seriously by either partner, and are clearly entered into for no other reason than the
[195] gratification of physical desire. The word used for them, *riuk*, is translatable as 'play': it is the same word as is used for the play of a child. and was also applied to the antics of my kitten.

WOMEN'S PART IN INTRIGUES

837 Mrs. Hadden, who was one of the first white people to live in this part of the country, and who has always been interested in the natives, told me she was certain that the woman was, more often than not, the more active, if not the instigating partner in love affairs. A similar view was expressed, quite independently, by one of the priests, who had worked in the district for many years. Direct evidence is difficult to obtain, but there is reason to think
837 that this is true. It is strongly suggested in the folk-tales, which
538 do, I am sure, reflect actual conditions. There is, for example, a frequently recurring incident of a woman who pretended to be

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DISCIPLINE

854 While they are very small, the children are subjected to little or nothing that we should describe as discipline. If a baby gets hold of something he ought not to have, his mother may take it away from him, but if he howls she usually gives it back. I have heard a woman shout to her baby not to lick up water from the ground, but immediately afterwards he ate a leaf which he had picked up, without comment from her. I once incurred the wrath of the mother of a child of about two, because I took away from him a long bush knife with which he seemed in imminent danger of doing himself an injury. He screamed, and his mother came running, and scolding me roundly for having made him cry, gave the knife back to him. The babies seem to learn at an early age how to handle sharp instruments, for cuts are rare. But they sometimes pay dearly for the experience which takes the place of precept. Burns are distressingly frequent. Fires are lit on the ground, or on the floor of a hut, and there is nothing to prevent a baby from crawling or rolling into them. Not only do no precautions seem to be taken against such disasters, but one of the first things a toddler is asked to do by a lazy parent is to go and fetch a piece of smouldering ember or burning stick with which to rekindle his pipe. Obedience to this—or any other—order is never insisted upon, however. Scenes like this are enacted in every village every day. Father is sitting on the verandah or on a log somewhere about the village, his pipe has gone out. He says to his small daughter, aged perhaps five, '*Di ma ta tsura.*' 'Fetch me some fire.' '*Tsuga.*' 'I don't want to,' says she, without moving. Father takes no notice at all, but goes on with what he happens to be doing without his pipe, and presently gets up and fetches his fire for himself. I have never seen a child made to do an errand if it did not want to.

[565] A child who is *tsunaun* has only to cry, for all the people within reach to rush up to him, and, if possible, give him what he is crying for. Several men once spent the greater part of a day in making ceremonial pudding for Wanias merely because he cried for some. Other children are given what they cry for if it does not involve too much trouble, or, if too big to be soothed by being offered the breast, they are left to cry themselves quiet.

152 855 Some children indulge in tempestuous fits of howling. This sometimes takes the form of a series of disconnected yells which

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sound as though they are deliberate, rather than the spontaneous reaction to pain or trouble. One small boy, perhaps four or five years old, used to sit on the ground and howl; after awhile, if taken no notice of, he would put his head on the ground between his feet and howl still more loudly, kicking first with one foot and then with the other. No one would pay any attention to him, unless after ten minutes or so an older child went to him and picked him up and carried him off. Gaua, a girl of five or six, used to have a howling fit of this sort every time her father went off on some expedition, because she wanted to go too. She was always left to howl till she stopped of her own accord. Gaua rarely cried for any other reason, except occasionally when she wanted a piece of taro. Another little girl, about the same age, used to be constantly having fits of what seemed like hysterical sobbing, in which she almost choked herself. I could never find out any cause for such behaviour, and her mother said she did not know why the child did it. A typical incident proceeded thus: She lay on the ground with her head down, howling loudly enough to be heard all over the village. For a long time no one took any notice of her, then another child went up and spoke to her. This had no effect whatever. Her mother went to her. She stopped just long enough to cough, and then continued to howl. Her mother pulled her on to her feet and towards the house; she kicked and struggled all the time, but the woman was very gentle with her, making no attempt to slap her. Presently her mother picked her up; she was quiet for a few minutes, but soon started yelling again, whereupon her mother put her on the ground again and went indoors. She lay there howling for some time.

Children are sometimes scolded, but only very rarely have I seen any one lift a hand to a child, much less a stick or other weapon, though they sometimes threaten to do so. Once, for example, a small boy came up crying to his mother, who was sweeping in front of the hut. She lifted her broom as if to hit him, but did not do so. He lay on the ground screaming for some time, she took no more notice of him, but went on with her sweeping. Sometimes a threat of this kind is made in fun, and is so understood by the child. A small boy held out a coco-nut to a woman, pretending to offer it to her, but when she put out a hand to take it he snatched it back. She had just come in from a canoe trip, and had a paddle in her hand. She pretended to hit him with it, and they both

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individual needs, half a coco-nut shell makes an excellent cup or bowl, leaves may be used as plates, and a shell (usually a species of cyrena, Pl. 38, no. 6) serves many of the purposes for which we use a spoon. These, with the women's knife made of black-lip oyster-shell and the large trade knives which are now universal, constitute the chief utensils employed in preparing and eating meals. Fingers and teeth are the aids to feeding most in evidence.

When ready to serve, the pot with its contents is placed on the verandah, or on the ground, where every one can reach to put his hand in and pick out a chunk of taro or a handful of tiny shell-fish. These people will put their hands into water that is only just off the boil, and take out a taro so hot that when they passed me my share I invariably dropped it, till I learned to wrap a leaf round my hand before accepting it. Similarly they will plunge a hand into a potful of shell-fish immediately it has been taken off the fire. Fish that has been cooked in leaves will be laid out on the verandah, still resting on its leaf-covering; if the fish are small each person will take one or more, according to the quantity available, if large, pieces will be torn off with the fingers. Sometimes a number of cooked taro or the portions of a disjointed opossum will be passed round in a coco-nut-leaf basket. If you have taken more than you want you pass the remainder of the taro or the half-picked bone to some one else, probably one of the children, with the remark '*Komanē a libul*', 'My belly is full'. I never saw any one put partly eaten food back into the pot. There are always plenty of dogs and pigs in attendance, who see to it that no fragments are left on the ground when the meal is over. The pigs are specially fed with the taro peelings and any other bits accruing from the preparation of the meal, being called up by name by the housewife for this purpose. The dogs fare more meagrely, being purposely kept on short rations in order that they may be fierce in hunting.

SMOKING

Smoking is universally indulged in, even by quite small children. Apart from the merest babies I do not remember meeting any one who did not smoke. It is a common sight to see a little girl of perhaps five or six strutting about with a pipe in her mouth, which may or may not be alight (Pl. 37*b*).

Tobacco is grown in small quantities and cured by being hung in bundles in the sun, but everybody much prefers the variety to